

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00

SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00 OMB-01

JUSE-00 STR-04 IO-11 FTC-01 /086 W

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O R 080933Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7517

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC HONOLULU HAWAII

COMUSJAPAN YOKOTA JAPAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 3486

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, JA

SUBJECT: LOCKHEED SCANDAL: REACTION TO INGERSOLL TESTIMONY

SUMMARY. REACTION HERE TO THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S
MARCH 5 TESTIMONY CONCENTRATED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ON THE
"UNEXPECTEDLY STRICT" CONDITIONS FOR RELEASE OF LOCKHEED
MATERIALS. THE TESTIMONY WAS INTERPRETED HERE TO MEAN
THE NAMES OF HIGH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ALLEGEDLY
INVOLVED WOULD PROBABLY NEVER BECOME KNOWN. IN THIS CONTEXT,
THE TESTIMONY PROMPTED GOJ CAUTION,
WIDESPREAD LDP RELIEF, AND SHARP ATTACK BY OPPOSITION
PARTIES, THE MEDIA AND, TO THE EXTENT WE CAN DETERMINE
IT, PUBLIC OPINION. THIS RANCOR IS BASED MAINLY ON THE
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ASSUMPTIONS THAT THE USG AND GOJ CONSPIRED TO HUSH UP

THE LOCKHEED AFFAIR AND THE PERCEPTION THAT THE US IS UNWILLING TO RELY ON JAPANESE JUDGMENT ON RELEASE OF LOCKHEED MATERIALS.

THIS NEGATIVE REACTION IS HEIGHTENED BY THE FACT THAT THE COMPLEX OF SCANDALS WHICH BROUGHT TANAKA DOWN HAVE YET TO BE EXPLAINED AND BY THE SEEMING LIKELIHOOD THAT POLITICAL CULPRITS WILL ESCAPE AGAIN. THE CRITICS BELIEVE THAT USG/GOJ CONNIVANCE IS PROBABLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS IMPASSE AND DISCUSSION HERE OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS AND WEEKS IS ALMOST CERTAIN TO FOCUS ON WHETHER INTER-GOVERNMENTAL CONSULTATION DID IN FACT TAKE PLACE. HAVING PROMISED FULL DISCLOSURE, PRIMIN MIKI IS NOW BEING CRITICIZED BY THOSE OUTSIDE THE PARTY FOR FAILURE TO KEEP HIS PROMISE OF PUBLIC DISCLOSURE WHILE IMPORTANT LDP LEADERS FLAY HIM FOR HIS EXCESSIVELY FORTHRIGHT STANCE TO BEGIN WITH. END SUMMARY.

1. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S TESTIMONY ON MULTINATIONAL CORRUPTION WAS CARRIED FIRST IN MARCH 6 AFTERNOON PRESS EDITIONS HERE. THE FOCUS WAS ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ON THE "UNEXPECTEDLY STRICT" CONDITIONS FOR RELEASE HERE OF LOCKHEED MATERIALS. PRESS ACCOUNTS EMPHASIZED US REQUIREMENTS FOR EXTREMELY SECRET HANDLING, NON-RELEASE OF MATERIALS BEFORE INDICTMENT THE NECESSITY OF US APPROVAL OF RELEASE EVEN AT THAT STAGE. MARCH 7 PAPERS CAME TO SOME COMMON ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT THE MEANING OF THE INGERSOLL TESTIMONY. THESE WERE: THAT SIMILAR CONDITIONS WOULD TURN UP IN THE PRESIDENT'S RESPONSE TO MIKI'S LETTER, THAT THE US CONDITIONS PROBABLY COULD NOT BE CHANGED, AND THAT RELEASE OF JAPANESE OFFICIAL'S NAMES WOULD THUS PROBABLY NEVER OCCUR. MARCH 8 MORNING PAPERS REPORTED THE USG WAS WILLING TO NEGOTIATE IMMEDIATELY AN AGREEMENT FOR RELEASE OF LOCKHEED MATERIALS, ALLEVIATING A WIDESPREAD JAPANESE WORRY THAT TURNOVER MIGHT TAKE WEEKS. THE ASAHI (ONLY) REPORTED AMBASSADOR HODGSON WOULD BE CALLED BEFORE THE CHURCH COMMITTEE MARCH 10 OR 11.

2. GOJ REACTION. CHIEF CABINET SECRETARY IDE MARCH 6
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SAID THE GOJ WOULD AWAIT THE PRESIDENTIAL RESPONSE TO MIKI'S LETTER EXPECTED THIS WEEK (OF MARCH 8) BEFORE REACHING A GOVERNMENT POSITION. THE PRESIDENTIAL RESPONSE WOULD BE REFERRED TO THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF CABINET MEMBERS CONCERNED WITH LOCKHEED. HE ALSO FOUND IT NECESSARY TO DENY AS "ABSOLUTELY UNTRUE" OPPOSITION CHARGES THAT THE USG AND GOJ HAD AGREED TO WITHHOLD LOCKHEED INFORMATION. PRIMIN MIKI LATER THAT DAY SAID SIMPLY THAT AS THE US POSITION

HAD BEEN DECIDED, A PRESIDENTIAL RESPONSE WOULD PROBABLY COME SOON. THIS RESPONSE, HE SAID, WOULD BE TAKEN UP BY THE CABINET AND THE SPECIAL CABINET COMMITTEE BEFORE DETERMINING A GOVERNMENT POLICY. A GOVERNMENT SOURCE MARCH 8 ADDED THE GOJ WOULD MAKE UP ITS OWN MIND WHETHER TO ACCEPT US CONDITIONS ON LOCKHEED INFORMATION RELEASE.

3. BUREAUCRATIC REACTION. TH FONOFF, COMMENTING ON US CONDITIONS, INTERPRETED THEM AS REFLECTING SOLELY US CONCERN FOR NON-INTERFERENCE IN ON-GOING US AND JAPANESE INVESTIGATIONS AND FOR THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED. THERE WAS NO INTENT, A FONOFF SOURCE SAID, TO FORCE THESE CONDITIONS ON JAPAN BUT, IT WAS IMPLIED, THE CONDITIONS WOULD HAVE TO BE ACCEPTED.

4. JUSTICE MINISTRY SOURCES WERE QUOTED AS SAYING IF JAPAN ACCEPTS US CONDITIONS, SENIOR JUSTICE MINISTRY OFFICIALS ARE READY TO GO IMMEDIATELY TO THE US TO CONCLUDE AN INFORMATION RELEASE AGREEMENT. THEY THOUGHT CHANCES WERE "GOOD" THAT THESE OFFICIALS COULD BRING BACK WITH THEM ALL MATERIALS RELATED TO LOCKHEED OPERATIONS IN JAPAN. THEY ALSO THOUGHT IT WAS "NATURAL" NOT TO RELEASE THE INFORMATION UNTIL THE INDICTMENT STAGE.

5. CONSERVATIVE REACTION. IN GENERAL, THE LDP LEADERSHIP WELCOMED THE USG POSITION WITH CONSIDERABLE RELIEF. DEPUTY LDP SEC GEN TOKAI, AS A SENIOR FUKUDA FACTION MEMBER AND PRESUMABLY WITH NAKASONE APPROVAL, SAID MARCH 6 US CONDITIONS WERE "NATURAL" SINCE OTHER COUNTRIES WERE INVOLVED. THE USG WAS UNLIKELY TO CHANGE ITS POSITION, AND THERE WAS NO TRUTH TO OPPOSITION PARTY CHARGES OF PRIOR USG/GOJ CONSULTATIONS. THIS SEEMED TO SIGNAL A MOVE BY THE LDP LEADERS TO DESCRIBE THE

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US POSITION AS APPROPRIATE AND THEREFORE WORTHY OF ACCEPTANCE. ALONG WITH A SLAP AT MIKI, LDP VICE PRESIDENT SHIINA CALLED US CONDITIONS "NATURAL." OHIRA WAS MILDLY FAVORABLE IN COMMENTS MADE OUTSIDE TOKYO. FUKUDA AND NAKASONE HAVE NOT BEEN HEARD FROM DIRECTLY YET. ON THE OTHER HAND, TANAKA FORCES HAVE BEEN EMBOLDENED AND APPEAR VINDICTIVE, SUGGESTING PM MIKI'S DAYS ARE NUMBERED AFTER BUDGET PASSAGE.

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6. OPPOSITION PARTY REACTION. OPPOSITION PARTIES ARE IN FULL CRY AGAINST AN ALLEGED USG/GOJ AGREEMENT TO HUSH UP THE LOCKHEED AFFAIR. THIS THEY DESCRIBED AS COMPLETE RETREAT FROM MIKI'S PROMISE OF PUBLIC RELEASE OF THE NAMES OF HIGH JAPANESE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ALLEGEDLY INVOLVED. JSP CHAIRMAN NARITA, SPEAKING AT A MARCH 6-7 JSP CONVENTION, THE USG, IGNORING DIET RESOLUTIONS CALLING FOR FULL DISCLOSURE, WAS GUILTY OF PMPERMISSIBLE DISREGARD OF JAPANESE SOVEREIGNTY. THE FOUR OPPOSITION PARTIES APPEAR TO BE COMING TOGETHER TO PRESS THEIR POSITION. THEY CALL SPECIFICALLY FOR RENEGOTIATION OF US CONDITIONS FOR RELEASE. THEY ALSO PROMISE TO STOP DIET DELIBERATION OF THE BUDGET, ONLY RECENTLY BACK ON THE TRACKS.

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7. MEDIA REACTION. FIVE EDITORIALS ON THIS MATTER

APPEARED MARCH 7. FOUR OF THEM (MAINICHI, YOMIURI, TOKYO, AND NIHON KEIZAI) CALLED FOR RENEGOTIATION OF THE US CONDITIONS. MOST EDITORIALISTS FOUND STATED US CONDITIONS UNACCEPTABLE, SUGGESTIVE OF A USG/GOJ DECISION TO HUSH UP THE MATTER, INDICATIVE OF A USG UNWILLINGNESS TO LET JAPAN ITSELF DECIDE WHETHER TO RELEASE LOCKHEED INFORMATION, AND GENERALLY "RUBBING POPULAR SENTIMENT THE WRONG WAY," AS THE MAINICHI PUT IT. MOST EDITORIALS THOUGHT US CONDITIONS MIGHT BE IMPOSSIBLE TO KEEP AND THUS IT WAS BETTER TO RE-NEGOTIATE NOW RATHER THAN LATER. THE ASAHI TOOK A SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT LINE, URGING BOTH GOVERNMENTS TO KEEP IN MIND THE STRONG POPULAR SUSPICION OF A COVER-UP ATTEMPT. ASAHI CALLED FOR USG/GOJ COORDINATION ON THE ISSUE OF INDIVIDUALS RIGHTS, RELEASE OF AGREED MATERIALS TO JAPAN AND SUBSEQUENT INDEPENDENT JAPANESE INVESTIGATION.

8. POPULAR REACTION. BASED ON VERY SKETCHY SOUNDINGS THUS FAR, IT APPEARS THAT POPULAR REACTION IS MORE OR LESS AS OPPOSITION PARTY AND MEDIA ACCOUNTS DESCRIBE IT, SCEPTICAL THAT NAMES WILL EVER EMERGE AND INCLINED TO BELIEVE THE USG AND GOJ HAVE ARRANGED THINGS THAT WAY.

9. COMMENT. THE US CONDITIONS AROUSED STRONG, BUT NOT UNEXPECTED, EMOTIONS HERE. THESE STEM, BASICALLY, FROM THE WIDESPREAD BELIEF THAT GUILTY POLITICAL PARTIES ARE ABOUT TO EXCAPE AGAIN--THIS TIME PROBABLY WITH USG/GOJ CONNIVANCE. FOR THOSE YOUNGER POLITICIANS, ACADEMICS AND JOURNALISTS WHO HOPED TO SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO PURGE AND REFORM THE LDP, THEY BELIEVE THEIR HOPES ARE DASHED. FOR MOST CRITICS, THE SITUATION IS DOUBLY DISILLUSIONING BECAUSE OF MIKI'S EARLIER PROMISE TO RELEASE LOCKHEED MATERIALS AND POPULAR CONFIDENCE THAT MIKI WAS THE MAN MOST LIKELY TO DO SO. PREOCCUPIED WITH THE NATIONAL SITUATION, MANY JAPANESE WERE ALSO IRRITATED BY THEIR PERCEPTION THAT THE US WAS UNWILLING TO PERMIT JAPAN TO MAKE ITS OWN DECISIONS ABOUT INFORMATION RELEASE.

10. THE FOCUS OF POLITICAL DEBATE WILL NOW SHIFT TO THE CONFIDENTIAL

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ISSUE OF WHETHER THERE WAS INFACIT USG/GOJ CONSULTATION ON THE US CONDITIONS. THE OPPOSITION PARTIES WILL ATTEMPT TO "PROVE" USG/GOJ COLLUSION TO HUSH UP LOCKHEED, A CHARGE THAT HAS BEEN DENIED REPEATEDLY BY GOJ OFFICIALS. IF THE OPPOSITION IS SUCCESSFUL, THE CONSEQUENCES FOR PM MIKI, CHIEF CABINET SECRETARY IDE (A PERSISTENT DENIER), AND POSSIBLY EVEN FONMIN MIYAZAWA COULD BE SERIOUS INDEED.

11. THE US CONDITIONS HAVE PUT MIKI, AT LEAST TEMPORARILY,
IN A DIFFICULT POSITION. HE IS CRITICIZED BY THE
OPPOSITION/MEDIA/PUBLIC FOR "RETREAT" FROM HIS RECENT
PROMISE TO RELEASE THE LOCKHEED MATERIALS RECEIVED.
AT THE SAME TIME, HE IS UNDER ATTACK FROM MORE
CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS OF THE LDP LEADERSHIP FOR HAVING
PROMISED FAR TOO MUCH TO BEGIN WITH. THUS THE
COMING WEEKS WILL NOT BE EASY FOR MIKI OR THE LDP,
BUT THAT WAS CLEAR FROM THE OUTSET, REGARDLESS OF THE
USG DECISION ON RELEASE OF LOCKHEED MATERIALS.
SHOESMITH

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